/34 cont'd/

622 whether there was also a property qualification. It is a fact, however, that the present chia-ch'ang, successors of the former shan-chia, all appear to be better off than the ordinary Miao people. Shan-chia is the keeper of knowledge for the Miao people. In his home he keeps the almanac, the Confucian classics, and other kinds of books. The public affairs of the village are under his direction and are all decided upon by him.

527 787 According to an old Miao custom, on the eve of the New Year, the entire population of the village usually gathered in the shan-chia's home to present him with jars of wines and to offer congratulations. They sang and asked the shan-chia about things of the coming year. From his experience and greater learning, the shan-chia would answer them one by one. The song that they sang was called "The Old Villager," the words of which are as follows:

539 Creating the heaven, creating the earth—Emperor P'an has done;
He made the rites followed by later men.
In accord with the rites, dinner is served for two;
A bare table would trouble the venerable official.
The first cup, we offer to him to drink,
After the second and third cups, the sands turn to gold.*
Thousands of cups are for all the stars to drink,
So that the venerable tree /uncle/ sitting at the table
may not be bored!
The golden/?/* cup is now respectfully put on the table,
Like a moon among the stars in the sky.
As two rows of stars now line the hall,
Also hope that the sun, standing above all the rest, will
protect them.
In P'eng-cheng hall, all the stars are now sitting,
Without rest, without settling down, they await the
difficulties of the coming spring.
Virtue spreads out to all the stars,
May the country be prosperous and the people be secure for
ever!

/41 cont'd/

554 of class antithesis, such as that of slaves versus masters, or serfs or tenant farmers versus landlords, which is the product of differences between the rich and the poor, does not appear among them. Every person, every family is a worker. There is no slavery but [567] only mutual assistance. The term "the poor and the poorer" /formulated by Dr. Sun Yat-sen/ is the most fitting phrase to be used in describing the Miao.

/42/ Chapter V. Daily Life

1. Diet

511 262 The life of the Miao people is very hard; they do not have enough food. This hardship has created among them the habits of frugality. Except during feasts or festivals when they eat white, polished rice, they ordinarily eat rice gruel or other mixed grains three times a day. Ordinarily they do not have meat (except when they have good luck in hunting), and vegetables are also rare with the exception of some wild plants which they occasionally pick for [263] cooking. Salt, therefore, is usually used for a condiment while eating rice.

[527] 262 252 It is only during feasts that they slaughter a cow or a pig and have a lot to drink. The Miao do not know how to season, and their cooking is difficult for an outside to eat. When they are entertaining guests, they usually cook the rice in a very special way. They put polished rice into a big pot. When it is half cooked, the rice is removed from the pot and dumped into a wooden cask, which is put back into the same pot and steamed with the half cooked rice in it. The wooden cask is about three ch'ih, or Chi- [416] nese feet, and is round. The bottom is pierced with small holes. When the water is boiling, the steam penetrates into the cask through the small holes, and the rice in the barrel is gradually cooked. It is said that this steamed rice is very delicious, but unfortunately we did not have the opportunity to taste it.

/52 cont'd/

765 To sum up, the manner in which the Miao tso-chai is conducted is very similar to the chien-chiao of the Chinese. The paper substitutes, (such as paper clothes, paper buildings, paper sedan chairs, paper coins...), which are burned for the deceased during the tso-chai are exactly the same as those used by the Chinese. It seems as if /53/ there has been transmittal of influence between the two.

765 171 /The author, Mr. Wang Hsing-jui, was a Chinese of Hainan Island. He thought that the Taoist service in the Miao area was called tso-chai while in Chinese society it was called chien-chiao. In many aspects, he said, the two services were similar to each other. Reading over Mr. Wang's description of tso-chai, we discover that with the exception of the Devil Dance, the Miao tso-chai is conducted in almost the same manner as the Chinese chien-chiao service. Furthermore, in Central and North China, this kind of Taoist service is called either tso-chai or chien-chiao. The tso-chai is by no means a Miao term. — Tr./

796 4. Festivals and Sports

● 527 On the lunar New Year's Day, the Miao usually hold a New Year celebration /the tso-nien/. Chickens and pigs are slaughtered [788] to sacrifice to the gods, and the villagers offer congratulations to one another.

Moreover, they hold the chung-jen chai /or public worship/ twice a year, in the first month and the sixth month of the lunar year respectively. The dates of these ceremonies are selected by the chia-ch'ang or some other elderly person, who selects them in accordance with the almanac and then notifies the people. At the appointed time, the several civilian and military Taoist priests of the village hang up the pictures of their respective gods and candles are lighted and incense sticks burned. Gongs and drums are played while they chant and dance before the gods. The ceremony lasts one or two days. Before the worship is over, two pints of rice and 20 or 30 cash were collected from each family. With this public contribution they prepare a dinner with wine and eat together. It is said that the purpose of holding the chung-jen chai is to pray for a peaceful life and abundance for the whole village throughout the year.

/135 cont'd/
554 793 baby who was held during the ceremony; and one as a military priest, also very young. All these children were qualified to become Taoist priests after undergoing this baptismal rite and could perform the duties of priests when they reached manhood. In the evening these children practiced the dances of Taoist priests on the grass, their steps being accompanied by the sound of drums and gongs. The uniformity of their steps and the agility of their movements amazed me and made me think what a pity it was that these bright youngsters were being properly educated when they showed such unmistakable promise!

Second month, twenty-eighth day. (Sunday)

538 In the morning we copied many different Miao songs and legends, one of which depicted the story of a romance between Mr. Yan Hui and Miss Chang Chiu-niang. The way in which the story made fun of the saints and followers impressed me, but the origin of the story was untraceable and would be interesting to study further.

765 In the evening the tso-chai ceremony was completed. The military priests put on a last, short act, the t'iao kuei ("dancing demon"). One priest played the role of the demon with a mask on, /136/ which looked hideous. Hidden behind a screen, he was lured out by two boys disguised as girls. Seeing the "girls," the demon became wild and erected his penis, measuring some two or three ch'ih in length (made of a bundle of straw). Leaping wildly left and right, he chased after the "girls." It was an extremely obscene act.

Third month, first day. (Monday)

533 527 In the morning Headman Lu prepared a rich banquet at his home for all the priests. The hostess appeared to express thanks to the priests one by one in words and songs. The priests, likewise, sang in their turn, creating an atmosphere of harmony and hospitality at the feast.

/136 cont'd/

361 At eleven o'clock after the banquet, we were taken by the Miao to visit a neighboring Miao village. In about one hour we reached the Chih-pao upper village, where there lived six or seven families with a total population of around 30 or 40, named Li, Shih, P'an, etc. We then went to the middle village, where two brothers of the Lin family, whose acquaintance we had made during the tso-chai service, greeted us and welcomed us to their home. In the village 164 we encountered an old woman, afflicted with an infection of the eyes. She had lost the sight of her left eye, and the right eye also was in critical condition. She begged us to cure her. Although we knew that it was a hopeless case, we did not want to disappoint her too much: we had to excuse ourselves by saying that we had not brought the medicine along with us. She begged us again not to forget to bring the medicine during our next visit— a rather depressing sight!

000 /We cooked chickens for supper and dined with Headman Lu. At night we talked with the villagers until ten o'clock.

Third month, second day. (Tuesday)

●527 At dawn the sound of a drum reached us. Upon inquiry we were informed that the headman was beating the drum to gather the villagers for the service of chung jen chai. They said that such a service is held in Miao villages every year in the first and sixth months, to pray for a rich harvest and tranquility. Each service lasts from one to two days.

361 /137/ In the afternoon we visited Fan-man village, another Miao settlement. The whole village consisted of about eleven or twelve families and was located at the foot of the Chien-ling mountains. Backed by high mountains and with a stream running in front, 262 574 the scene was beautiful. Headman T'an Ch'i-ying, upon our arrival, ordered a banquet of ducks. We could not resist his hospitality. When we left, we presented him with a pair of scissors, a harmonica, [291] etc., as gifts. On our way back we saw two women up ahead, but 000 their large straw hats concealed their faces from us. The Miao who

/137 cont'd/ The Miao who
533 was our guide began to sing love songs—his voice was so loud that the echoes shook the whole valley. The women ahead of us, though they glanced back, did not answer with songs, nor did they stop walking. We did not want to give up and caught up with them. At a closer look we saw two elderly women of around forty or fifty. They were acquainted with our guide and asked him where we were going, but he was so embarrassed that he flushed profusely and could not utter a word. We could not help laughing aloud at this sight.

Third month, third day. (Wednesday)

171
585 A niece of Headman Lu was to be married, and the villagers assembled in his house in the morning to select the auspicious day according to the t'ung shu /almanac/. It resembled that used by the Chinese, and the method they used for calculating the dates also was similar.

692 Yüan-chiung didn't feel well, and in the afternoon I accompanied him on a walk out of the village. We met a Miao on our way, who kept telling us how he had been cheated by a merchant at the Wen-hua trading center in a deal over edible tree fungus. He was overcome with indignation. But he said living high in the mountains, there was no place where he could lodge a complaint and seek redress. He had now decided to go to the Pao-t'ing district headquarters to lodge a complaint.

●527 The chung jen chai took place tonight in the same bamboo shed where the tso chai was held the day before. Pictures of the gods were hung on the walls, and an incense burner was set up on the table. The set up was simple, and the priests did not bother to change their clothes. All they did was to chant incantations and perform their rituals.

/138/ A Miao whose nephew had been wronged by someone came to ask me to write a letter for him that he could send in order to deal with him. When I said I would, he thanked me and left.

/138 cont'd/

Third month, fourth day. (Thursday)

164 Yüan-chiung had to get up over ten times last night because of dysentery. He cannot eat and feels so weak and depressed that it worries me. For the past two or three days my throat has been unusually parched, and today when I talk sometimes I can't make a sound. We suspect that our ailments have been caused by the impure drinking water. As the Miao live high in the mountains with
312 no streams and rivers around, all the drinking water has to be gathered from bamboo pipes in which water drop by drop is led down from the mountain tops and therefore is very dirty. We feel this is no proper place for us to stay any longer and have decided to return to Ta-ch'i immediately. But the rain has kept us from starting our
000 trip. I have spent the day in copying a number of Miao songs and legends and trying to learn the style of singing Miao songs. That the outcome of not going today was to be able to gather this unexpected material made me very happy.

● 527 At night the villagers gathered and contributed money and rice to have a banquet, and this was the end of the chung jen chai.

Third month, fifth day. (Friday)

000 At three o'clock in the morning I was awakened from my dreams by Yüan-chiung. He said that his dysentery was not over, and he could not hang on in this place any longer and wished to leave Ang-chi for Pao-t'ing in the morning. After some deliberation, we decided to leave here to return to Ta-ch'i first, and there we would decide whether or not to go to Pao-t'ing, depending on his condition. As our plans would be considerably affected once we left Pao-t'ing, we had to think it over rather carefully.

484 Around ten o'clock in the morning, we started to leave Ang-
[493] chi to return to Ta-ch'i, braving a heavy rain. The Miao prepared a sedan chair for Yüan-chiung, and I followed closely on foot. Be-
[136] cause of the all-day rain mountain leeches were everywhere. How many times they climbed up my legs and filled their stomachs with my blood before I discovered them!

/19 cont./

M *101 CC 563 M [162] when trouble starts, their chiefs rebel. Wu Pan-sheng, Wu Pa-yüeh, Shih Liu-teng, and Shih San-pao were all He Miao, according to their own statements." Although the Miao in the three sub-prefectures are broadly divided into the Hung Miao and the He Miao, when one looks into their origins, besides these two subgroups, the Hung and the He, there appear to be Ch'ing Miao, Hua Miao, and Pe Miao mixed in with them. As they were small in number, they were less known. Moreover, the Hung Miao and the He Miao have a variety of other names. Yung-sui T'ing Chih /Annals of Yung-sui Sub-prefecture, 1908/ gives 22 different ones as follows:

M [167] (1) Hung /Red/ Miao. They originally came from Tung-jen, Kweichow. They are very numerous. Eastward their area extends to Ch'en-chou, westward to P'ing-t'ou, P'ing-ch'a, and Yu-yang native subdistricts /t'u szu/ in Szechwan, north to Pao-ching, south to Ma-yang, and southeast to Wu-chai subdistrict. This area measures 1,200 li in circumference, M [131] 300 li in length, and 120 li in width, within which confines resides this tribe.

[167] [301] [556] [527] (2) Ch'ing /Green/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Ch'ing-chen, Kweiyang. Men and women generally wear silver neckbands, and a rich woman wears as many as six or seven of them. In the first month of the year, they hold New Year parties at which men and women gather together, blowing reed flutes and singing and dancing for three days. The chicken yards are especially frequented ....

M [167] [462] [782] [769] (3) He /Black/ Miao. — This tribe originally came from Tu-Yün and Pa-chai in Kweichow. They live in such places as Chen-ch'i-so. The women till the land by day and spin and weave by night. Every thirteen years they sacrifice a cow to heaven, earth, and their ancestors, which is called "Ch'ih ku tsang /eating bull's entrails/." Moreover, they put the bones of pork, chicken, mutton and dog together with M [262] [263] whole fowls including feathers and entrails in earthen jars until they decay. This is known as "sour food." They use little salt, which is substituted for by bracken ashes.

M /19 cont./
*101 (4) Yeh T'ou Miao. — This group also belongs to the He
CC Miao. When a girl is married, she must marry the son of her
563 maternal uncle. If the latter has no son, he must be given
M presents of ornaments and money. Otherwise she may not
[582] get married at all.

(5) Tung Tsai Miao. — They are not as numerous as the Yeh T'ou Miao, and live in separate villages. The Yeh
M Tou villages are known as the Big Villages and the Tung Tsai
[628] ones as the Small Villages, the latter being subservient to the
[582] former. Marriage is restricted to their own villages. A secret
[502] marriage to a member of a big village is a violation. The Tung Tsai are good boatmen. In Mi-no these are such tribe-
M men.
[345] (6) Pa Chai Miao. — This group is also a part of the He
[533] Miao. Near the village is provided an empty shed, where un-
[517] married men and women gather together to sing. If a couple
[584] fall in love, a cow is sent as a betrothal gift. One or two days
[583] after marriage the girl goes back home and still asks for money from her husband. If the money is not given she may marry again. In Ya-yu this custom still exists today.

/20/ (7) Ch'ien /Bamboo Grove/ Miao. — Another
M branch of the He Miao, there are many at Lieh-erh-shan.
[241] They live in dense bamboo groves on the mountain. They are
[262] not good at farming but grow some grain. They consider
[291] hempseed to be food and use hemp for their clothes.

[882] (8) Ch'ing Chiang He Miao /Ch'ing River Black Miao/. —
[527] The unmarried men are called "lohan" and the unmarried
[584] women, "laopei." In the spring they carry wine and food up
[851] the mountain, singing and dancing reciprocally. Those who become fond of each other drink from an ox horn and get
[167] married. After a son is born, they then say they have a descendant, and begin to be willing to work in the field.

[291] (9) Pe /White/ Miao. — They originated in Kwei-ting
[302] and Lung-li in Kweichow. They esteem white clothes, go
[782] bareheaded and barefooted, and coil up their hair with crude
[769] hairpins. A big bull is selected for the ancestral sacrifice.

*M 101 cc 563 /20 cont./ in the villages around Shang-shih-li. Men learn trades and women weave and embroider. Unmarried people often gather together for moon parties out in the open, at which men beat M [167] [462] the monkey drums and women sing in accompaniment. It is said that over 600 of Ma San-pao's soldiers remained as husbands who lived in their wives families. Consequently they are also [517] [533] called the Six Hundred Untamed Miao.

(14) Hsi-Ch'i Miao. — Formerly most of these lived in [167] [291] Chi-an-p'ing. The women's skirts do not cover the knees, and they wrap the legs with green cloth. Unmarried men and [583] [577] women have drinking parties in the open to find mates. After a son is born, a cow is given as a bridal gift /to the girl's [584] family/.

(15) P'ing Fa Miao. — Originally they were from Kuei- [167] [782] ting hsien in Kweichow, and some of them also lived in P'ing- [574] ch'a-szu in Szechwan. Today, many of this tribe are also [291] found at Pai-liao. They like to kill dogs to make sacrifices [302] to the spirits or to entertain guests. The men wear straw wraps [167] and short skirts; the women wear long skirts and bind their hair into a knot.

/21/ (16) Tung Miao. — They originally came from M [291] Lung-li and Ch'ing-p'ing in Kweichow. Today, they are still numerous in the villages of Liu-li. The men wrap their heads with cotton prints and wear light-blue short garments. The M [527] [782] [769] [776] women wear green embroidered cotton garments with very tight sleeves. Every mid-autumn festival they make sacrifices to their ancestors and dead clan members, and invite a sorcerer to their homes. They place food and wine on a wooden board, and calling out the spirits' names they dance and sing. (The spirits have such names as Pao-t'ung, Po-ch'a, Po-chi, etc.) What is commonly called "K'ou-ch'e seven maidens and the cursed spirits" in this sub-prefecture are both remains of this custom.

M [531] [386] (17) Hua /Flower/ Miao. — In Ya-yu and Ya-pao there are many of this tribe. The clothes they wear are first covered with designs in wax, and then dyed. After the dyeing, the wax is washed out and the designs appear.

M /21 cont./
*101 is washed out and the designs appear. The sixth month is regarded
CC as the beginning of the year. Ox and wine are used in sacrifices
563 to Heaven. When they are sick they do not use medicine, but
M consult sorcerers. Even the poor must kill an animal as a
[805 sacrifice. Before making a move they must divine its propitious-
782 ness by breaking a reed or picking a chicken bone. Sping opens
755 with New Year celebrations, in which men blow reed flutes
787 and women accompany them by ringing tiny bells, dancing
527 and singing, shoulder to shoulder.
534 (18) The Yang Pao Miao. — They came from Tsun-I,
167] Kweichow, being the descendants of the Po chieftain, Yang
Ying-lung. In the thirtieth year of Hung-wu /1397/ in the
Ming period, the Miao complained about the heavy taxation
M and requested a reduction. The then chu-pu /keeper of records/
648 of Lu-ch'i hsien, Sun Ying-lung, went into the native area to
175 calm them. Sun Ying-lung took the chief of the tribe, Yang
CC Erh, to the capital to send up a memorial requesting the establish-
175 ment of a military and civil Ch'ien Hu So /"thousand men
563 office," The Ch'ien hu was a military station official, in charge
669 of 1,000 men. He and his men held hereditary positions/ at
Chen-ch'i, to pacify the area and set up headquarters, introduce
the new system, with 124 villages organized into ten districts,
and Yang Erh was appointed Po Hu Chang /"100 men leader"/
to control them. Afterward because the Miao at Chen-ch'i
became aggressive, often causing the local officials trouble,
and also because of the isolation of the area and the difficulty
of access, the sub-prefecture /t'ing/ was abolished. The temple
M of Yang Lao Ling Kung worshiped by the Miao was actually
*101 built by Yang Erh. They are all said to be descendants of the
CC Po chieftain.
563 (19) Tzu Chiang Miao. — They originally came from
M Ch'ing-p'ing and Tu-yün in Kweichow. They are fond of fight-
346 ing and killing. Whenever they sacrifice to the spirits they
167 mount a ladder made of swords /knives?/. In 1795, in the
782 reign of Ch'ien Lung, the revolts at Ya-pao-chai and Chi-to-
648 p'ing mainly involved this tribe. Today there are still some at
CC Ting-niu and Yen-lo.
669]

/235 cont./

857 304 is smeared on it. After a number of days it is washed away, revealing the tattooed design, the color of which remains permanently.

517 526 [177] [411] The adult amusements of the Miao, such as shaking the dragon lantern, shaking the lion, boxing, and tilting are the same as those of the Chinese /Illus. 117-20, pp. 236-38/, /239/ and probably were introduced by the latter. But one kind of their tilting, in which a weapon called tz'u-ch'a /"stabbing prong"/ (Illus. 119), is used, is not often seen. According to Miao legend, this is a weapon for stabbing tigers.

(4) Swings

526 [527] Among the Miao there is a swing game, which is quite interesting. On farm holidays when there are fairs or during the New Year festival, they put up frameworks for swings on a vacant lot. Each framework supports two swings, and every swing has four compartments, each fastened with ropes and a board. Each swing seats four men or women, going around with the wheel (Illus. 120). [533] Men and women sing back and forth as they swing along (see chapter, "Folk Songs" /not translated/). 539 773 526 The following song is about the origin of the swing:

Songs and singing are as old as time,
Found in all books everywhere.
A son of a unicorn was born in the
Sung dynasty.
The young man with a clever mind sought
a mate.

He searched for a beauty but was
ashamed of his own ugliness.
He loved beauty but beauty was
hard to meet.
He asked someone for a plan.
And was told to make a swing for people
to enjoy.

[text continues on p 356]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

which came about six inches below the knees instead of to the ankle. Their blouses had a sailor collar and the overpiece was of woven hemp. Besides they wore a belt and overpiece of braided straw to protect their clothes from the heavy baskets carried on the back. Neither of these groups of women, who attended the same market in Lung-li, braided the hair, and the latter group made a very large, looped knot at the back of the head. Their turban was wound around it as well as the rest of the head and thus became very large indeed.

Agriculture. This was essentially an agricultural village, in which one family owned enough land so that it rented a little, some owned land and had the help of relatives in working it at especially busy times, some owned land and worked it themselves, and a few were merely employees, though related to those for whom they worked, and treated as subordinate members of the family.

Although those who were educated knew about the foreign calendar followed by the Chinese Government, it meant almost nothing to them. What they consulted were the lunar calendar and the *Farmers' Almanac*. For them the year began with the lunar New Year (February 15 in 1942) and its festival days. This was the slack season of the year, and for the first month they did as little work as possible. The lofts were full of faggots and brushwood for fuel; the granaries were full of rice, both "big" and glutinous, white and black. The New Year pigs had been killed and made into smoked meat, cured meat, and sausage. There were hundreds of glutinous rice cakes, jars of rice wine, and much bean curd on hand. The gardens furnished a greater variety of vegetables than at any other season of the year. Therefore, for the first fifteen days always and, if possible, for longer the men sat about fires in the houses, talking, smoking their long-stemmed pipes, drinking a little wine, and doing a little gambling. The women sat about fires at various points in the village with the little children and babies, embroidering, separating the hemp fibers and making thread, mending, smoking, talking, and amusing themselves with the children.

*See p. 30.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

805 796 527 541 The girls sat about two or three fires between the group of grave mounds and a bamboo thicket near the bullfight meadow, while they embroidered and entertained young men from other Cowrie Shell Miao villages in very lively fashion, teasing one another, snatching turbans and ornaments, and chasing. Some of them played bamboo flutes of their own manufacture and sang. About a third fire sat another group of women and their little ones. A group of young people and a few among the others went to the second or third market after the New Year, but the young folk went only for fun. Groups also went to other villages, nicely dressed and bearing gifts of wine and cured pork, and returned after two or [764] three days. For a death which occurred during this season there was a longer period of feasting by day and dancing to the *lu sheng* (fig. 18, *a*, *b*)* and drum during the night. On the fifteenth of the first month some daughters returned to share the family feast. At the beginning of the second month the Cowrie Shell Miao community in Teh-hua *lien pao* in Kuei-ting Hsien had a bullfight, to which as many as possible of the older men and the young people of both sexes went.

805 241 243 As soon as the first month was over (the middle of March, 1942) and signs of spring appeared the women went to the mountains to lay in an extra supply of fuel in the form of firewood, with which they filled all the available space in the lofts. The chief occupation of the men at this time was the plowing and harrowing of fields. The draft animals used were cows and water buffalo of either sex. First the fields which were to serve as seed beds were plowed, harrowed, flooded, plowed, and harrowed again. Women also continued to work in vegetable gardens and fields. There were periods of warm, sunny days broken by severe thunder showers when it became unseasonably hot.

When the seed beds were ready men cast seed into them from the dikes (fig. 16, *a*). Then a branch or a line of branches, usually of bamboo or pine, were stuck in the fields to show that they were planted to rice. These seed beds were sometimes wide and long and

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

flailed out. The first *lo mi* cakes of the season were made, stuffed with boiled beans and herbs. Bean curd was also made.

While the harvest was still incomplete they began the plowing, fertilizing, and harrowing of fields for the planting of winter crops of wheat, beans, peas, and rape. The same cleaning of stables took place, with the young people working in groups as in the spring and enjoying a special meal with bean curd as the chief dish at night. By the end of the ninth month the supply of fuel, which at one time filled the equivalent of a *chien* and a half in our house, was mostly used up. Again it was necessary to go out for more.

The weather during the tenth month (November) was very wet. Rainy days, or gray, misty ones, far outnumbered the even partially sunny ones. Consequently, the days were even shorter than the season of the year would naturally make them. Breakfast came between nine and ten o'clock by my watch. Then the cattle and water buffalo were taken out to graze by the children, women went for firewood, carrying a lunch with them, and returned just before dark for the evening meal and a little visiting before going to bed. They also tended vegetable gardens or sowed seed in the fields. The plowing, seeding, and carrying of fertilizer continued even after some fields had plants already well up. A few days were fine enough for sunning grain.

One of those days was the twenty-third of the tenth month (November 30). That evening and the next morning mats were laid on the threshing floor and the wooden machine for cleaning grain was brought out. Eight men with bags and baskets carried grain to a dealer in Lung-li on the twenty-fourth and sixteen men on the twenty-fifth of the tenth month. Each man carried four of the "small *tou*"[1] used in this district. This was for our one family. Before they went they had breakfast. Each man carried a large *lo mi* cake stuffed with beans for lunch, and they had a bean curd supper upon their return.

Even before the end of the rice harvest and the seeding of fields to winter crops, the festivities of the least busy season of the

[1] These weigh twenty-four *chin* (= pounds), or 32 pounds.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

year began. During this period there was time for weddings, visits to other villages to "drink wine," and celebrate such events as *tso chia*,[8] and bullfights.[9] One bullfight was held at Hsin-ch'ang in Kuei-ting Hsien on the tenth of the eighth month (September 19), another at Yang-chia-sai on the tenth of the ninth month (October 19). A bride went from Yang-chia-sai on the sixth of the tenth month (November 13). On the third of the tenth month (November 10) several girls went to the village into which a girl from Yang-chia-sai had been married two years before, to celebrate *tso chia* with her in her new home. A girl was married into the village on the fifth of the eleventh month (December 12) and the old man's son took a second wife on the twenty-third of the second month of the next year (March 28, 1943).

Of course, even though this was perhaps the slackest season of the year, there was still much to be done in the way of cultivation of fields and gardens, and the bringing in of fuel against the period of almost complete leisure during the first lunar month. On sunny days grain had to be brought out and sunned, and some of that stored in sheaves sunned in the sheaves, beaten out into the wooden box, against an upturned millstone, or with the flail, dried, and stored. In preparation for the entertainment of guests, for the New Year feasts of the household, and that as little time as possible in the first month need be spent in preparing food, much time was also used in the making of glutinous rice cakes, rice wine, bean curd, cured and smoked pork, and sausage. The harvest had been abundant and the family could afford some new clothing, that those who attended bullfights and feasts might look their best and be a credit to the family. White cloth was purchased in the piece and dyed before being made up. All clothing and bedding, the houses, and their surroundings were cleaned and set in order.

This is the agricultural calendar, followed year after year.

Implements and Technique. The technique of farming was identical with that of Chinese and Chung-chia of the neighborhood,

[8] See p. 51, note 2.
[9] See pp. 76 ff.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miso AE5

RITES OF INTENSIFICATION[1]

CALENDAR OF FESTIVALS

796 527 **The Lunar New Year.** Preparations for the period of leisure and festivity of which the lunar New Year was the central point began soon after the rice harvest. Glutinous rice cakes, some stuffed with beans, some made of the black rice, some colored red, but almost all white, rice wine, bean curd, pork in various forms, and sometimes beef had to be made ready not only for the feasts of the first month, but also for weddings, bullfights, and all occasions known as "invitations to drink wine." Of the weddings I saw or knew about all took place between the sixth of the tenth month and the eighteenth of the second month. Bullfights took place on the second day of the second month and in the eighth and ninth months.

They had to bring in a large supply of fuel, also, not only for the first fifteen days of the first month, at least, when as little work was done as possible, but also for the large amount of cooking involved in the making of these special foods. As many had new clothes as could afford them. This called for the dyeing of pieces of white cloth to a very dark blue, the cutting and making of garments, the embroidering of aprons and overpieces, the weaving of belts, and the making of pads for the babies. Clothing and bedding were washed wholesale so that no one need think of that for two or three weeks after the New Year. The whole village was put in order.

796 252 527 For the glutinous rice cakes the hulled rice was boiled to a stiff paste, which was then put into a large stone mortar and pounded with large, wooden mallets on long handles until it was of the right consistency to shape. If beans were to be put inside, they were boiled with herbs or ginger and salt to season them and the paste wrapped around them. Some liked a thin shell of paste, some a thicker one. For the pounding of the paste two strong men were needed; women did the rest. Freshly made cakes could be eaten as they were, for

[1] See Chapple and Coon, 1942, p. 706.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

796 the cooking and pounding heated them and
252 they had not yet become stiff and hard. At
527 this stage they were also good cut in pieces and fried in plenty of fat, then dipped in brown sugar syrup or a mixture of sesame seed, sugar, and salt. Later they were usually toasted over the fire or in the hot ashes. Lest the air dry them out too much they were kept in large jars full of water. When they formed the chief lunch dish, a boiled green vegetable mixed with much red chillie was eaten with the plain one. Those of black glutinous rice were greatly prized because not much of this grain was raised and it was sweeter than the white. Red ones were liked because red is the color of joy.

796 One morning I went into the kitchen and
273 found the old man's first wife and the second
527 nephew's wife distilling rice wine. A wooden cask with no top or bottom had been set, large end down, in one of the large kettles over the kitchen fire. It was evidently the old lady's task to keep just the right fire going under it. Sawdust was packed around the lower end to seal it. Rice and water had been put into the cask. On top was a smaller bowl with a cloth laid around it to seal the seam. From a hole in one side of the cask ran a length of bamboo into the spout of an earthen jar. This tube was securely wound with cloth to seal possible holes. On top of the jar was a cloth with a weighted rice bowl in it. This equipment was owned by this household and borrowed by others when there was occasion to make a large supply. New wine was sweet and had some rice in it. Later it became sour or strong of alcohol.

796 Bean curd was made as follows: The soy
252 beans and water were dipped with a small
527 wooden dipper from a bowl to the hole in the upper of two millstones set on a wooden frame at a convenient height. From between the stones the thick, white liquid ran by a trough to a wooden bucket. I did not see

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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anything added to cause it to curdle. The mill was turned in one of two ways: Either a wooden handle stuck up beside the upper millstone so that one operator had to lean over to turn it, or a curved beam rose from the rod in the side of this stone and had a handle at right angles to it, supported by a rope from the beam above. One or two persons pushed and pulled this around. I helped when they were making bean curd at the time of the second old lady's funeral. A hot fire of straw and grass was kept burning beneath one of the large bowls. Into it the operator of the mill poured the contents of the buckets of bean milk until it was full. When the milk had boiled up it was poured into a wicker tray or scoop with a cloth in it, set over a wooden cask. When the whey had gone through, hastened by some pressure on the cloth, the cloth was laid on a flat board and the curd cut into squares.

The killing of the New Year pig was the occasion of an offering to the household gods and a feast in which all the dishes contained pork. In our family it was killed a week before New Year's Day. The old man's brother from Yang-niu-ts'un and his son, who went to school in Lung-li, the old man from House 33, and his sons helped. When I arrived a small table was set on the steps before the door. In the center of it was a *sheng* measure of rice with lighted incense sticks set in it, and at each corner a rice bowl containing (1) wine, (2) bean curd, (3) chillies, and (4) salt. To one corner of the table were fastened two long bamboo poles, both of which had some strips of white paper and leaves at the top. One was split finely to make a holder in which a bowl was set. The pig killed was a large one, worth well over a thousand Chinese dollars. The blood had been allowed to drip into a tub, after which the carcass had been put on a wooden frame, and the bristles scraped off. The entrails had been taken out and were being washed. The animal had been cut squarely in two from snout to tail. The two parts of the pig were taken into the hall and set on boards on the floor. They were then weighed and the women took pieces to make the dishes of the feast. The one I attended was of the following dishes: pig's blood broth, carrots and pork, celery and pork, and a soup

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

of fat and lean pork, with a seasoning of chillies. All but the old man drank wine. I was invited to eat with the men and boys. The other women ate in the hall. After the feast the pig was cut up and the relatives went home with a big piece of it and two bunches of carrots. They gave me a piece of lean and a piece of fat.

The next day there was mist everywhere and it became colder and colder until there was ice all over the mountains, bending the bamboo down to the ground. It was thick enough on rice fields so that the children cut slabs of it and carried them about. There was also some snow. This weather pleased the people very much. They said it meant that the crops would be good this year. Mo-mei spent most of these days making a new long garment for her oldest cousin as she sat by my fire. Some of the other girls were there one day, and on another, one of the women from House 11 came.

The oldest nephew, Cheng-hsüan, and the son Cheng-hsiang spent most of the last day of the twelfth month writing appropriate New Year inscriptions in black on red or orange, and in white on blue paper. They got these formulae from a book of them. These strips of paper were pasted on the door frames and window frames, top and both sides. Red or orange indicated that the family was not in mourning, blue or white that it was. Those on blue paper Cheng-hsüan sent to his old home in Yang-niu-ts'un, as his mother had died during the year. (Cause of death: heart disease with edema.) That evening a feast was held in the big house at which the dishes were of pork — several of them — "long life noodles," bean curd. and a kind of spoon bread with egg in it. There were piles and piles of glutinous rice cakes laid out in the hall, and two young men were pounding more of the paste in a mortar. Some of the cakes had beans in them. I had given the family a large roll of firecrackers, half of which they set off at this time. The small boys scrambled for the paper cases. Incense sticks were set in at one side of the door sills of both the "new" and the "old" houses and the gate into the court.

The next morning they set off the rest of the roll of firecrackers and all had a special

796 breakfast much like the feast of the night
252 before, but there was no soup. First pieces of
[124] pork were cooked in the bowl over the fire,
527 then other things in turn. I sat until noon with the old man and his second wife and found them very ready to answer questions about family history. The conversation led into that channel in an interesting way. The old man had been reading about Roosevelt in the newspaper and asked me questions, being most desirous of knowing whether there were many people named Lo in the United States. (The Chinese call Roosevelt "Lo Ssu-fu" and he thought Ssu-fu was his given name and Lo his surname.) I explained, and said that Roosevelt was a Dutch name, that Roosevelt's ancestors had come from Holland to the United States. That led the old man to tell me of the migration of the ancestor of the Cowrie Shell Miao from Kiangsi which I have mentioned earlier.[2]

796 In the afternoon I found twelve of the vil-
527 lage girls sitting around a fire at their usual place, but they had no visitors as yet. During the day children went around from house to house making bows from the waist or kneeling and knocking the head to the ground. They were given sunflower seeds and parched beans and peas. That evening the family had another feast similar to the others.

796 From this time on the men sat about the
533 fires in the houses, the women about several
527 fires at certain points in the village and just inside the wood. The same women usually composed each group, but now and then one would visit a group not her own. The girls now sat about two fires and their "chaperones" about the third, while Cowrie Shell Miao boys from other villages came each day. There was much playing on bamboo flutes which seemed to call for a certain tune. They sang such songs as the farewell to the bride a great deal and made up more words for it. One of the young men wrote out for me the song I have compared with the one from An-
527 lung and called it a song sung along the road.
796 The girls were all working on the embroidered
292 overpiece. One day they put a turban on me
123 which seemed to be half unmarried girls'

[2] See p. 8.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

527 796 292 123 style and half married women's style, as it included the chopstick, and an overpiece, and taught me how to swing shoulders and hips to make the shells click. One of the visiting boys brought his *lu sheng* one day. Four of the girls danced and also one of the village men, who had his gun with him.

796 574 527 During this fifteen day period Mo-mei, her best friend among the girls, and the first nephew's oldest son went to visit relatives in Yang-niu-ts'un. They carried a bag of rice and some meat as a gift. The same day four other girls, with a boy to carry a jar of wine and a piece of smoked meat, also went visiting. They all stayed four days. Cheng-hsüan visited at his old home from New Year's Day until the twelfth of the first month. On the fifteenth another feast was held, to which I was not invited, for it was for members of the family only. The married daughter returned for this, bringing her little girl with her. At this time incense sticks were also set at the doors. They sent me a dish of chicken from the feast.

The girls continued to sit by their fires after the fifteenth, but the women did not come to the third fire, and there were no visitors. At all fires, they ate glutinous rice cakes toasted in the ashes at noon. The only break in the period of relaxation came on the ninth of the first month, when every one in the vicinity went for faggots on the mountains. Those from near the village to Lung-li had been burned over — a beautiful sight — and the people were anxious to get the partly charred wood. It burned well, but was very dirty to handle.

782 796 527 San Yüeh San.[3] The first time I was in the village, at this season the men of the village built three fires at the shrine on the south, killed a chicken, used eggs to divine the fortune of the year, burned incense, and spirit money before the shrine, and set off three gunpowder charges. Incense sticks were also placed beside a little pine tree beyond the path, looking toward the meadow. Some of the chicken feathers and inscriptions on red paper were pasted on the shrine. At the other two shrines spirit money and incense

[3] The third day of the third month according to the lunar calendar — a Chinese festival.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

were burned, gunpowder charges were set off, and feathers and inscriptions stuck on the front of the shrine. 796 782

The second time a rooster was killed on a stone in the open space near House 7, and three fires were built there, upon which the men of the village prepared a feast for themselves. The children, who are always welcome, whether invited or not, also came. Over one fire the chicken was cooked, over a second the broth of fresh bean curd, and over the third a broth of pork. At the shrines they burned incense and spirit money, set off firecrackers, and stuck on chicken feathers and inscriptions. This time I found a straw image of a man about eight inches long, with white paper about the trunk and upper arms, and a chicken feather stuck in the paper lying along the right arm. It was lying at the entrance to the village on the east with the legs toward the village. 527

Ch'ing Ming.[4] This is the Chinese festival at which ancestral graves are repaired and decorated with a bamboo pole which has leaves and white paper streamers at the top. It is stuck into the peak of the grave mound. Offerings are made and the family have a picnic at the graves. This festival comes almost exactly at the time of our Easter. 796 527 769

The people of this village celebrated for two or three days, according, as they told me, to the few or many deaths during the preceding year. I was there for one of these festivals. The first day the people of Shang-sai killed a pig and prepared the feast, but all contributed toward it or bought a share of the meat, and all the village except the Chinese family partook of it. The feast was held in the sheltered place at which the girls built their fires at New Year's time. The chief grave was decorated, charges of gunpowder were set off in groups of three, and an offering was made to these graves before the people ate. With the exception of a few women who sat together at the entrance to the wood, all ate together at this one place. The women

[4] A solar period at which the Chinese worship at graves – roughly corresponds to our Easter time, April 5–17.

[5] Ripening grain, one of the twenty-four Chinese festivals. It usually occurs during the fourth month

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

put on good clothing for this, even the tiny girls being dressed in tribal costume. The second day Hsia-sai killed the pig and prepared the feast, which was eaten in the village. The next year I was away. Upon my return they told me that they had celebrated for three days and that one of the feasts was eaten on the threshing floor in front of the "new house," whose kitchen had been used for the cooking.

Our family also had a private Ch'ing Ming at their group of tombs. All the men and boys of the family and some from families who lived near by went to this place, which is to the west of the village and on a piece of high ground. They spent nearly all afternoon there repairing one of the grave mounds by cleaning up around it and putting new pieces of sod on it. Some prayers were chanted, a chicken was killed, and gunpowder charges were set off, first three, then two, then one. The powder was carried in the horn of a bull, not water buffalo. That evening they had a feast in their home to which they invited the members of those other families and me. The old man, his son, his grandson, the oldest daughter, and the nephews sat around one fire, four men from the other families and one woman, the two wives of the old man and his younger daughter, the oldest sons of the two nephews, and I around another, and the rest of the family around a third. We had dishes of noodles and chicken, beef and a vegetable, chicken and pork, and bean curd soup.

Hsiao Mang.[5] This was not observed particularly by the Chinese in Lung-li. The villagers held a feast, for which they made bean curd and colored glutinous rice — yellow, orange, blue, green, red, and purple. This, mixed with the black variety, they ate for some time after the festival, too. Finally what was left was sunned and parched. It was as good as popcorn.

Tuan Yang.[6] In the village they had a feast. In Lung-li the Chinese also prepared special food.

according to the lunar calendar. (A solar period from May 21–June 4.)

[6] The day of the Dragon Boat festival, the fifth day of the fifth month according to the lunar calendar.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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Lung Hui.[7] For this the people of the village made the same three-cornered glutinous rice cakes as for the fifth of the fifth month festival. Dragons mean rain or water. The festival was well named, for there was almost a solid week of rain directly afterward. It was ideal rice weather, but brought out the insects, too, of which the most annoying were mosquitoes, fleas, and a tiny, stinging, black thing like a gnat.

I did not see the feasts of the seventh month in the village.

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Bullfights (fig. 17). The first fight I saw was held on the first three days of the second month of the lunar calendar on a field near the village of Yang-niu-ts'un in Kuei-ting Hsien. We arrived a little after noon, a bit too late for the ceremony known as *ta ch'ang*.[8] The spectators, nearly all young men and women, stood on two hillsides which made natural places for spectators, overlooking the level space between. The water buffalo bulls and their keepers were also standing on these slopes. Before each fight an old man beat a gong from one hillside and was answered by two in the hands of a young man and a boy on the other. The bulls were led onto the field by their owners and around it until two were chosen as seeming about evenly matched. These two were led to face each other and released. Sometimes they clashed horns at once. Sometimes they seemed to size one another up first. The fighting consisted of clashing horns, which made a loud noise, goring on head, neck, and shoulders, pushing head on or with the head and shoulders of one bull against those of the other, and finally one bull chasing the other from the field. As the bulls fought young men with long staves in their hands formed a circle around them (fig. 17, *f*). Sometimes the bulls moved around so much and so vigorously that the young men standing near had to scatter. Once they stampeded into the spectators on a lower slope, but no one was hurt at any time. Two bulls were so evenly matched that they were separated after about twenty minutes and led away, evidently very tired. Once two bulls started a very good fight on their own. While

[7] "Meeting of the dragons," the sixth day of the sixth month according to the lunar calendar.

[76a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

the ground, using a coarse rope to pull the bull's horns to another piece tied in the round hole in the stone and fastened behind with a transverse rod, then turned upward to fix the bull's head and horns on the stone. When it cannot be moved they tighten it behind the stone with the horizontal stick. After preparing the sacrifice, they invite the maternal uncle and son-in-law to act (if there are none, then other relatives on the wife's side will do). The maternal uncle holds in his hand a piece of iron about five inches long, which he lays on the neck of the bull. The son-in-law holds in his hand a thick, twisted wooden staff about three feet long, which he strikes vigorously against the piece of iron several times. The bull then loses consciousness and the bystanders stab the bull with a sharp knife and let it bleed. They then cut up the hide and flesh and divide it among friends and relatives. The maternal uncle's share is one of the hind legs, the son-in-law's is the neck. This is their reward for killing the bull. As for the remaining relatives, since all must bring a gift of from a few *mao* to two or three dollars, not all the same, so each family is to have a share of two or three *chin*.

The rest of the beef is roasted. To go with it they make all kinds of dishes containing beef. In the afternoon about one o'clock they set out the feast in the great hall. Boards and benches are put together to make a long table and the guests arrange themselves for a long feast. On the table they set all sorts of dishes having beef as a foundation. Of unfermented wine they drink from large bowls. If other families conduct the ritual at the same time, the guests who have come to the killing of the bull, after eating for a time at one place go on to other places. On that day only men are guests; women do not attend the feast. In many tribal societies, although all have meetings of a religious nature or rituals, women never take any part. Among the Cowrie Shell Miao women do not attend the feast of killing the bull, which is a very good example.

Economically, killing a bull is very wasteful, so poor people do not have the ability to do it. Families who have much wealth so that they can do it always consider this a day for paying debts and also as doing something for which they will receive a monetary reward later. Killing a bull is at the same time a form of communal pastime. On the day of killing the bull men and women, old and young, put on their best clothes. The silver ornaments on the clothing of the women, bracelets, rings, necklaces, and so on, are splendid for the occasion, quite beautiful. There are many people and it is a lively occasion, better than a market. The yearly burden of getting a living and depression of spirit are for that day lessened, for the joyfulness of the occasion springs up in the heart. It must thus be also of no little aid to good health.

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?)1947 AE5 Miso AE5

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527 After the sacrifice the horns of the bull must be preserved. In the homes of the wealthy they always have ten or more pair put away. After an old person in the family dies all the families who have them must put a pair of horns on a millstone and set it before the door to bring about the dispelling of ill

[80a]

4:Mickey E-5 (1940-?) 1947 AE5 Miao AE5

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luck until after burial, when it is put away. After the sacrifice, on the place where it took place they must erect a staff twelve to thirteen feet high with a flag three or four feet from the top and a crescent of wood like the horns of a bull fastened to it. This sign then can be observed from a great distance.

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

who are not Christians do not pray to or worship any Supreme Being. 771

This is the more remarkable as they have the story of a Creation. The Heh Miao say Vang-vai made heaven and earth, and Zie-ne made other things, but they never worship Vang-vai or Zie-ne. The Hua Miao say that in the beginning there was no heaven and earth. There was a man named Gloe-an, and his wife Ngo-a, and these had two sons. The elder, beating about with a brass hammer, made forty-eight heavens, or a heaven in forty-eight parts. The younger son, with an iron hammer, beat about and made earth in forty-eight compartments. We never heard of them worshipping these persons. 773

All the Miao have musical festivals once or twice a year, now in one part of the country and now in another. If asked why they hold these festivals, they say that if they failed to do so their harvests would be bad; and yet they do not profess to understand how the harvests are influenced by this custom. If ever there was a religious element in their musical festivals, there does not seem to be anything religious about them now. As at present conducted they are fêtes, attended by the people from all the countryside, at which there is not 796 527

7: Clarke M-3 (no date) 1911 AE5 Miao AE5

796 •527 only music but also pony-running and buffalo fights. These fêtes are great occasions for social intercourse among the old folk and for courting among the young. A young man once remarked to a missionary, "If I do not go to the festivals I shall never get a wife." Scores and hundreds of girls are to be seen there in all the glory of richly-embroidered clothes and heavy silver ornaments, and just as many young men in their finery.

534 The musical instrument they play at these festivals they call *Ki*, and the Chinese call it *Lu sen* or "six tones." They are made of bamboo pipes, sometimes six being let into a piece of wood like a hollow club, the handle of which is the mouth-piece. The noise—perhaps we ought to say sound—is produced by a brass tongue attached to a small metal frame (such as are used in concertinas and harmoniums) let into the bamboo tube, one in each of them. The sound is something like the sound of the bagpipes. They are made in sets of different sizes, the smallest having pipes about three feet long, and the largest with pipes twelve or fourteen feet long. The lower end of the large pipes is put into a drum or cylinder three or four feet long, hollowed out of the trunk of a tree. These large reeds give forth a very creepy

[8 cont.]
755 to perform the ritual. Collusion between the two is common, and the ignorant people are made victims. These ghost affairs, however, often have a psychological effect and little ailments are sometimes healed this way. But in nine out of ten serious cases death is the only outcome. Their superstition is so deep-
[753] rooted that they think all diseases are caused by spirits who have to be appeased. Death is considered a destiny, and the living resign
[761] themselves to fate. Every year when diseases are prevalent in all hsien areas in Kweichow, the diviners and the priests do a thriving trade that unfortunately causes innumerable deaths. What a pity!

6) Vices. Kweichow is an opium producing province. The
276 opium growers are the Miao-I, but they themselves detest this drug, and those among them who smoke opium are extremely rare. Even cigarette-smokers are few. But there is a kind of tobacco, locally produced, which is favored by all. When they are not at work, whether sitting down leisurely or walking in the street, they would smoke unceasingly the pipe tobacco. They
273 are fond of wine; men and women, old and young, derive pleasure from liquor and encourage each other to drink more, their breath reeking of alcohol. There are two kinds of spirits; a strong wine made from corn and mixed grains, and a white wine distilled from glutinous rice. The quality of both is mediocre and the taste ordinary, but they relish them with delight.

7) Recreation. The Miao-I in Kweichow are mostly farmers
517 who live apart in wild mountains and lone valleys under difficult and strenuous circumstances. They work so hard [9] that if they do not seek some kind of amusement, life would be entirely devoid of pleasure. So all groups of Miao-I emphasize recreations, which take place in between farming periods, such as the liu-sheng [six-pipe bamboo wind instrument] dance, the flower dance, market dance, moon dance, chasing the moon, sitting in the moon, singing, yao-ma-lang [or kan-piao, love-making], bull fight and horse racing. Among these the liu sheng dance,
● [527] flower dance, market dance, bull fight and horse racing are held periodically in a fixed location according to precedents. The

[180 cont.]

796 and then hang out knots of scented rice straw, but no red peppers. These decorations are in expectation of a prosperous year.

After having celebrated "The Big Year" on the thirtieth day of the twelfth month and having decorated the door on the New Year's day, the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao would remain at home to rest without doing any work. The food for the New Year was prepared in advance on a lucky day (dragon and [777] dog days are lucky), and it is not cooked again until another lucky day comes around. [181] So on New Year's day there is no kitchen drudgery as only pre-cooked meals are eaten. The [784] New Year's day being the first of the year, everything has to be auspicious and inhibitions are many. For instance, 1) no sewing is done by women at home; 2) nothing is taken into the house from outside; 3) no water is carried; 4) no knife is used; 5) no one is allowed to go barefooted and shoes must be worn; 6) no cursing is allowed; 7) no rapping on the wall is allowed; 8) the floor must not be swept; 9) no collection of debt is permitted. Besides, there are the proverbial "three days of liberty" when [527] parents would allow their sons and daughters unrestrained freedom [593] in the pursuit of recreation and happiness on the first, second and third days of the year. After this period the children once more submit themselves to parental restraint. On the first day of the year the old and young are clothed in new garments and have fun all day long. Only the Hsiung and Yang families 769 among the Ch'ing Miao have the custom of worshipping ancestors 796 in the evening. At the time of the sacrifice, the head of the family would spread a straw mat on the floor of the middle room or the side room and place on it incense and candles as well as three bowls of rice. In each bowl is pitched a piece of pork on a bamboo stick with three straw knots to represent the ancestors. In addition there are three bowls of beancurd and three pieces of tz'u-pa [glutinous rice balls]. They call out aloud to ask their ancestors to pass the New Year with them. Then the male members of the family begin to kowtow in the order of their age. After the paper money is completely burned, they gather up the things on the straw mat. The rice straw and the bamboo

[195 cont.]

517 According to our investigations the Miao-I at An-shun have many
535 kinds of recreation, of which the most important are the flower dance, the market dance, the moon dance, the "kan-piao," singing and playing musical instruments. These are discussed separately as follows.

535 (I) The Flower Dance. The Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao
527 in the An-shun area hold flower dances every year. This is an important collective recreation of the Miao during the farming holidays. We have asked the Miao people about the purpose of the flower dance. Their answer is that when Lord Hsüan of the Wei state in the Chou Dynasty built a new terrace to flirt with the woman of Ch'i, he inaugurated the flower dance for the Miao. The method of the flower dance is said to have been created by Yang-lu (considered the original ancestor of the Hua Miao). A local proverb has it that "if the Miao do not flower-dance, the grains will not sprout." The superstition that the flower dance can bring about a prosperous harvest is the result of a low-cultured tradition. All the Miao people believe in it whole-heartedly today as they did of old.

Among the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao, the time of the flower dance is generally in the first month of the lunar year, the dates varying slightly with different flower slopes (that is, the places where they dance), and depending upon the time when such places were first established. But once fixed, they cannot be changed later. According to our investigation, the locations for the dance are usually the most populated areas. There are altogether seven dancing slopes within the An-shun area, five for the Hua Miao and two for the Ch'ing Miao. The locations and the dates are listed below in the following table:

[196]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
East Gate Hamlet outside East Gate	First month: 7th, 8th, 9th	Hua Miao
Upper Village outside South Gate	First month: 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th	Ch'ing Miao

[196 cont.]

Locations	Dates	Tribes
527 Flower Dance Hill	First month,	Hua Miao
535 Outside North Gate	4th, 5th, 6th	
[?] -chou in the Third District	First month: 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th	Ch'ing Miao
Chiang-chia-Ma-lung in the Fourth District	First month: 6th	Hua Miao
Ping-chai in the Fourth District	First month: 8th	Hua Miao
Chung-yü-shan in the Fourth District	First month: 10th	Hua Miao

Among the above locations the dancing areas at the Flower Dance Hill belonging to the Hua Miao and the Upper Village belonging to the Ch'ing Miao are the largest. The dates set for such occasions are not subject to change, wind or rain notwithstanding. On the day of the dance all the community, without regard to wealth, age or sex, go to the appointed place in groups. The festivity of the occasion can well be imagined. The following is a detailed description of the flower dance.

A. The Method of the Flower Dance. 1) The Flower Slope and the Flower Tree. 527 535 842 When the Miao perform the flower dance they use the flower slope and the flower tree. The flower slope is the place where they dance, also called the "Hua-ch'ang" [flower yard], located on a hill in the neighborhood of a village, or half-way up a hill, or on level ground. The owner of the land where the dance takes place is known as the "flower host," generally a very influential person of the area. The land chosen for the flower slope has a quality of permanency. Before the flower dance is held, the slope is decorated with a tree of about a dozen feet in height, known as the "flower tree." One day before the event the flower host, blowing a trumpet, would welcome the tree to the flower slope, preferably a tree with green branches and leaves on the top. It is best when the tree is stolen from

[196 cont.]

535 somebody else's land and duly cursed by him. The flower trees in
527 the various flower slopes are changed either once a year or [197]
842 once every few years, depending upon whether some family would receive the tree after the dance. If a childless couple in the Miao village near the flower slope should give a feast for the guests to receive the tree into their home, the host would be happy to have the tree removed. The following year a new flower tree would be found for the slope. At the same time the family receiving the tree would make its timber into a bed. When the childless couple sleep in this bed they would become fertile and produce a son.

535 2) Participants. When a certain area holds a flower dance,
527 men and women, old and young, from all the villages nearby would come in bands. Young men and women would carry bundles on their backs, and on approaching the flower slope the men would open them and change into new clothes and nailed boots, with short flutes dangling around the waist, and leather or wooden bags hanging behind. As headgear they use pheasant
[301] feathers adorned with strips of colored cloth streaming in the air. They carry in their hands five-pipe or six-pipe bamboo-wind instruments [lu-sheng]. The women also change into new clothes,
[292] new skirts and jackets of bright patterns. The Chinese merchants of the area would establish stalls to sell candies, fruits and toys. Arriving at the flower slope the men would surround the flower tree in a circle, dancing as they move along and playing the bamboo-wind instruments. Listening to the music, the dancers would make noise by stamping their nailed shoes on the ground as they dance along in a rhythmic din. After circling a few times, the paired dancers fall into line, making the steps now left, now right, and now making a break as they follow the cadence of the music. First the men play bamboo wind instruments and later the women play mouth organs. The crowd dances around the tree a few times or as many as a dozen times. Outside the slope still others would play clarinets [so-na, a type of clarinet], bamboo wind instruments, and flutes, forming bands by themselves. The women often form groups of their own. Some

[197 cont.]

527 would just cluster around and watch, while others would disperse
535 to sing and joke and play mouth organs. The noises on the slope soon become confused as the festivity wears on. After the dance the old and the middle-aged would form groups to help themselves with refreshments while the young men and women would scatter to the high cliffs and wilderness to sing and talk, such laxity being altogether permissible on this day.

527 B. The Purposes of the Flower Dance. 1) The Belief in
535 a Prosperous Harvest. The Miao have no other pursuits besides
241 agriculture, and in case of famine there are no means to maintain livelihood. So during the first month when there is a respite between farm activities they hold the flower dance to pray for a bountiful year with an adequate rainfall to bring about a rich harvest in all the grain. This superstitious belief is not only indulged in by the Miao, but shared by the local Chinese as well. Therefore, in case that the Miao themselves cannot maintain
[648] order at the dancing slope, the Chinese [198] are always ready to offer help. Sometimes the Chinese are even willing to put up the money for the flower slope and welcome the Miao to the dance as a prosperous harvest benefits all the people concerned.

527 2) The Belief in the Acquisition of a son. The Miao of
535 the area believe firmly that the flower dance facilitates child-
842 birth. So at the dance one often sees couples wearing unembroidered jackets with blankets on their back for, it is said, after the flower dance the conception of a child is most likely. There are also couples who after being childless for a long time, welcome the flower tree to their house and give feasts at great expense to entertain visitors. When the tree arrives at the gaily decorated house, it is received to the accompaniment of firecrackers and instrumental music from the lu-sheng and so-na. The hosts kneels down to welcome the tree and blesses it with many lucky words in anticipation of a son. This is another reason why the Hua Miao perform the flower dance.

527 3) The Selection of a Mate. Many Miao choose their
535 partners in life at the flower dance, and many parents follow
584 their sons and daughters to the scene to observe whether the ones selected are satisfactory. After the event they would ask a

[198 cont.]

535 527 584 go-between to arrange the match. Therefore, young men and women everywhere try to make as many new clothes as possible to be worn on this occasion. The dancers sometimes change their clothes a few times a day. In short, the custom of the flower dance has prevailed for a long time. Some dance with the hope of acquiring children while others, among the illusive shadows and to the tune of scintillating music, look secretly but intently for his or her future mate. For the unmarried men and women the purpose of the flower dance is to seek a partner in life.

535 527 443 (II) The Market Dance. The market dance is also an important annual event with the Hua Miao and the Ch'ing Miao in this area. The dance is similar to the flower dance, except that it does not require a flower tree and that it has no fixed date and place. It is held generally after the transplantation of young rice-plants in the fourth or fifth month, or after the ripening of the crop in the seventh or eighth month. It is held [202] at the market fair, but the announcement is made at a previous fair by the host (or promoter, who is generally a Chinese) with two men, one beating a gong, and the other balancing a bamboo pole on his shoulder, on which is tied a belt with flower designs. This belt is presented as a souvenir by the girl to the boy when they talk love at the dance. When the two men circle around the fair once the crowd would know that the next one would be a market dance. On that occasion bands of men and women from all parts would come with new clothes as for the flower dance, men playing so-na and lu-sheng, and talking all the way. Arriving at the fair they would perch on the high mounds or stay in the low open ground outside the market place, playing musical instruments and singing songs. Young men and women take this opportunity to meet new friends or [199] renew old acquaintances. [243] The old people believe that the market dance in the fourth month, when the buckwheat and other grains flower, can encourage the yielding of more crops, and the market dance in the seventh month can bring about firmer and larger seeds. The market dance is known proverbially as the "grain dance," a name which clearly reveals its superstitious origin.

[164 cont.]

768 inherited estate, upon which other children may likewise live, according to the particular arrangements agreed upon.

Among the settled "Méo" tribes (near irrigated rice fields or
423 particularly fertile areas) the idea of property is clearly established. The ground belongs to the one who has cleared it or laid it out, and it is transmitted by inheritance.

Everywhere else customs are found analogous to those of the "Man," the ground belonging temporarily to the one who cultivates it, but it is abandoned when it is exhausted or when a better piece of ground is found near which one goes and settles.

The "Méo" woman gives birth sitting on a tabouret, supported
844 by her mother and by other old women. She afterward lies down on a cot bed. The placenta is buried in front of the door, if a boy is
553 born; it is buried [165] under the hearth if it is a girl (1). Thirty-
852
[775].

1. The "Méo" must know where his placenta is so that he may retrieve it when he is reincarnated.

three days after his birth the child receives his name. Relatives and friends bring presents to him and this is the occasion for a feast
● [527] as sumptuous as the resources of the family permit. Gifts and feasts are renewed upon all the birthdays. In principle, the children are
853 nursed for three years.

Abortion is practiced among the "Méo" for all irregular
847 pregnancies (unmarried women and widows). In case of failure, the baby simply is abandoned from the moment of his birth and dies of hunger.

Among certain "Méo" tribes of China the "couvade" still is
846 practiced (the husband goes to bed during the accouchement and receives treatment). This custom is not practiced by the "Méo" of Tonkin, but one observes among them customs that appear to be derived from it. The husband must follow a vegetable diet, he is forbidden to be away from home and to cross over the passes leading toward the neighboring valleys.

582 The "Méo" may contract marriage, either within their own clan, or within any other tribe of the group. They marry very seldom outside their group.

[168 cont.]

776 tormenting human beings, they have no fear at all of these bad spirits, contrary to what we have seen in the "Thai" and especially in the "Man." Also the "Thai" and the "Man" consider the "Méo" as men of a special species.

[169] The "Méo" think that men have three souls, "pli,"
774 775 that reincarnate themselves in the bodies of pregnant women. (See note on page 178.)

They have the priest-sorcerers who preside at the ceremonies
793 and have the power of communicating with the spirits. These priests are illiterate and receive no initiation. The tribal traditions, the curtailed rites, and the few formulas of exorcism or of incantation are orally transmitted. The office is usually hereditary.

The "Méo" celebrate a great many festivals, which are so
796 many occasions for having a spree. At the beginning of the year, the spirits of heaven, of the earth, and of the hearth are especially feted, as well as the ancestors. At planting time, sacrifices are made to the spirit of the mountains, protector of the crops. After the harvest, further sacrifices to the spirit of the mountains and to the ancestors. The third day of the fifth month, a special celebration at the time of the harvesting of medicinal herbs. Besides these ceremonies on fixed dates, the "Méo" carefully celebrate the anniversaries
[527] of births and of other happy events. All these festivals consist of feasting and drinking intermingled with songs and dances. The "Méo"
[157] nature is carefree and very gay; he loves music and dancing. The
[831] songs, in "Méo" dialect, are always obscene and even erotic. The
[533] dance, performed only by the men, is most often done while playing
[535] the "sen." The player keeps his knees bent and the upper part of his body leaning forward. He jumps from one foot to the other, either while turning about or going forward or backward, but without ceasing his playing. (Photo 155, Plate 40.)

The "Méo" children very often play the game of the revolving
524 seesaw, which they probably got from the Chinese. A solid post, deeply planted in the earth, terminates at its upper end in a central peg, on which is balanced a very big pole, which has for this purpose a hole through its center. This pole is movable horizontally about the axis formed by the central peg described above. It is also movable

39: Bernatzik--75 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/48/

Chapter 7

Life in the Community

a) Birth

527 [842] The day on which a child is born is an important day in the life of the Meau and one that the parents look forward to with longing. Even later on, the birthdays within the family are always festive days, an observation that Lajonquière (1)

1. II, p. 317.

also made.

844 [556] Among the Meau, when the time of delivery comes, the woman squats on the ground next to the bed, and the husband supports her so that she does not topple over. Among men of some means, a mat forms the underlayer; otherwise leaves suffice. The husband catches the child, ties the umbilical cord, severs it with a pair of scissors, and washes the child with warm water. The child is not yet swaddled, however. If the husband has not yet experienced a confinement, the parents help him. Midwives are unknown. The placenta and [846] umbilical cord are preserved in a bamboo which, in the case of a boy, is buried next to the middle post of the house, in the case of a girl under the bed of the parents, always about three-quarters of a meter deep. When I inquired as to the reasons for this distinction, I was told: "A girl leaves the house when she marries and from then on belongs to the other family; a boy, however, stays in the house and augments the prosperity of the family." My Meau informants did not know why the afterbirth is dealt with in such a manner. They also believed that it would not matter if an animal were to devour the afterbirth, /49/ for an evil spirit would certainly not do this, since it would not taste good to him. Even today, however, the Meau still do [778] this as their ancestors did and in accordance with tradition.

AKha A04
Miao AE5

/55 cont./

A 551 [553] In addition to the name which every person receives at the time of admission into the family community, every man is given a second name by his father-in-law after the birth of his first child. Telford (3) /see footnote 3 above/ writes: "He is given part of the father's name."

Among the Akha, too, a definite distinction is made between names for boys and for girls, but unlike the situation among the Meau they do not have any special meaning and are merely names:

Boys' names are: tšǒpa̋, tšǒniúm, tšǫ̆nkǭ.

Girls' names are: minyu, tšópyǫ́, mĭná̋.

/56/ c) Children

M 855 [842] The villages of the Meau and even more those of the Akha are teeming with children, which is not surprising in view of the fertility of these peoples. True, the hygienic conditions, especially in the villages of the Meau, are as unfavorable as can be imagined (cf. the chapter, "Medicine"), in striking contrast to the impression given by the well-fed, contented children.

As soon as the little ones begin to crawl and to walk and thus come in contact with soil, dust, and soot, they are permanently covered with a thick crust of dirt, so that their true skin color is no longer recognizable. Their little noses M [515] [291] run, their hair is unkempt and dirty, the remains of food stick to their little fingers -- but all this does not prompt the mother to wash the child. Meau children are usually clothed only in faded rags which once were part of the clothing of adults (Ill. 67 and 68). Even the articles of clothing made especially for the child, however, are soon entirely in a state of neglect due to the liveliness of the children and the complete lack of repair and scarcely fulfill the purpose of covering the body. Only a M [291] festive day provides an occasion for every child to have new [527] clothing, to be washed, and to be combed, but this only happens

[see cat. 116, p511- ANALYST]

/56 cont./

M 855 [515] [527] a few times during the year. Even the older children are not brought up to be clean and orderly. It is not until the beginning of puberty that they develop a natural desire to keep themselves clean and to dress properly.

A 855 [515] [296] In the villages of the Akha, on the other hand, the children give the impression of being better cared for. They are washed once a day, in the morning or in the evening, and their clothes are also washed and kept in order. Moreover, the children of the Akha are lovingly adorned (see the chapter, "Clothing and Ornaments") and are a very charming sight (Ill. 7).

A M 853 Definite nursing hours are unknown among both tribes. The small baby is fed as soon as it cries, and since the children are as a rule healthy, they usually cry only when they are hungry or tired. Then the mother lifts the child up, puts it in a nursing position, with its back on her arm, and gives it her breast. When it is satisfied, /Ills. 14-17 appear here on unnumbered pages/ /57/ it is fastened again with a carrying cloth to her back, and, if it does not fall asleep immediately, the mother sings it to sleep.

A M 854 The child-carriers (Colored Pl. II, No. 11)[1] are the universe in the lives of babies. They are tied on the back constantly until they are able to crawl, and they are taken out for a short time only to be fed. Otherwise the baby, fastened in its carrier, accompanies the mother while she works in the fields, watches her do the housework (Ill. 66)[2] and is even taken along to a dance. Among the Akha I often saw young widows, with their children fastened in the carrier, dancing on the dance ground and disappearing into the forest with young chaps.

The small baby soon learns to raise himself up in the carrier and, like a little monkey, to cling fast to the mother's neck. Not only the smallest ones are carried about in this manner, however; even children three to five years old are often placed on the back of the mother or the father, either because they have grown tired on the march or because their small legs are unable to master the difficult terrain.

A M [855] [See cat. 116, p 240 - ANALYST]

1 [See cat. 116, p 240 - ANALYST]
2 [See cat. 116, p 472 - ANALYST]

AKha A04
Miao AE5

A /152 cont./
123 rang out in the distance. As we discovered later, it was fire-
535 works which the Akha had acquired from the Chinese. Mean-
[541] while the sound of mouth organs was heard drifting toward us;
[177] the noise grew louder and seemed to come closer, and we were quickly on our feet.

Shortly thereafter the first group of the festive throng arrived. It was several dozen young men, accompanied by a number of boys. In their gala costumes, richly hung with silver (Ill. 12), they posted themselves beside our tent and began to dance, while some of them started a huge fire. The flickering, crackling fire cast eerie shadows, which the blazing flames dispelled, on the figures stamping and leaping to the sound of their mouth organs. Over us arched the firmament with the twinkling tropical starry sky. It was one of the most beautiful and rewarding moments we were privileged to experience on this expedition. After a few hours the fire gradually died down, and the tired dancers returned to their village.

A
527 These dances of the Akha, however, are usually danced
[535] following a celebration, occasions that are presented in abundance because of the special liking of the Akha for celebrations. When the full moon shines at harvest time the sound of the mouth organs and the singing of the beautifully adorned girls with their reddened lips and cheeks resound the whole night through. The
M
[527] turn of the year is celebrated among both the Meau and Akha with festivals that last for days, but other occasions also are often presented for breaking the monotony of /153/ /Ill. 26-29 appear here on unnumbered pages/ work with a festival in honor of the spirits (see the chapter, "Religion and Magic," section on "Deities and Spirits") or of a distinguished guest. We, too,
A had the opportunity to participate as guests in several celebrations
[123] of the Akha along the Doy Tung in northern Thailand. In the following I shall give the description of one of these celebrations from the entries in my wife's journal:

A "At day a pig is slaughtered. Many men hold the loudly
M squealing animal, while one of them cuts its throat. Whereas
[23] the Meau always see to it that the spirits receive their share,
782 the Akha do not concern themselves about this in the least.
They drive a strong pole into the dead animal at the anus and
A out through the snout. Without any sacrificial ceremony and
[252]

[see cat 116, P 37- ANALYST]

[TEXT continues on P 214]

796 /209 cont./
574 protectors of the harvest. After the harvest there are more sacri-
782 fices for the mountain spirits and the ancestors. On the third
114 day of the fifth month there is a special festival at the time of
261 the harvest of medicinal plants. Besides these festivals which
[776] have fixed dates, the Meau scrupulously celebrate birthdays and
[241] other auspicious events. All /210/ of these festivals consist of
[527] eating and drinking, interspersed with singing and dancing."

Lajonquière (1) describes the following sacrifice offered by

782
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1. II, p. 314.

the Meau in Tonkin: "At the beginning of the year they sacrifice to heaven and earth, to the hearth spirit, and to the ancestors, offering to them a piece of meat, a bowl of rice, and gold paper. On the third day of the fifth month they sacrifice a chicken and
[769] collect the medicinal agents and the dye plants. On the sixth day of the seventh month they sacrifice to the ancestors. At sowing time they dedicate a cult to the spirits of the mountains by offering meat, a chicken, incense sticks, and gold paper to them.
[241] At the time of the harvest they again make sacrifices to the
[769] spirits and ancestors, so that the next harvest will likewise be good."

In any case, whether one assumes materialistic or religious
[114] reasons for the many sacrificial feasts, the assertion that Dhuraratsadorn (2) makes, that the Meau conduct no prayers or

2. Page 173.

sacrifices for the local spirits and no rites of any kind in connection with the rice fields, housebuilding, or fishing, is undoubtedly incorrect.

778 As cult and ceremonial implements, there are the spirit-
782 swords made of wood (Figs. 53 and 54) or bronze (Fig. 55) and
[177] sacrificial bowls of earthenware or porcelain, which, however, are of Chinese origin, whereas the fat-lamps (Fig. 51) and incense candles (Fig. 41b), as well as the oracle horns, are made locally. Among the cult implements there are also the
[413] punches (see the chapter, "Handicrafts," Figs. 359 and 360) with

/431 cont./

805 114 At any rate, I cannot agree with Savina (4), who writes

4. II, p. 176.

as follows concerning the time reckoning of the Meau: "Do not ask a Meau for a fixed date; he does not know any, not even the day of his birth." Nor was I able to find confirmation for the Chinese assertion that the Meau recognize the seasons of the year, summer and winter. This may be different, however, among the Meau who inhabit the cold northern regions.

805 [527] I was also able to ascertain that the Meau do not have a division of the week, but to make up for that regard the twelfth day after every full moon as /432/ a holiday. On this day, they stay at home, take a rest from their work, and, as a sign of the [778] day of rest, put in front of every house entrance a sacral sign in honor of the spirits (Ill. 97). 1/ For the Meau of northern Thailand, the observation by Savina (1) that they use the growth

1. II, p. 205.

of plants and the voices of birds as aids for their division of [825] time is very pertinent: "The Meau keep roosters that crow at night. They do not ask how late it is, but rather how many times the cock has crowed. In the morning the women get up [221] at the third crowing." The same author (2) continues: "All

2. II, p. 220.

[824] tasks begin at the same time every year. The Meau do not use any calendar for this, but rely on certain trees and shrubs that [825] bloom regularly at the same time every year. The first singing of the cuckoo is observed throughout the land. 'When the cuckoo sang last year, the maize was higher or lower than it is this year,' they say."

1/ [see dat 116, p 663- ANALYST]

39: Bernatzik--663 E-5 (1936-1937) 1947 AO1 Thailand
Miao AE5

/Opposite p.490/

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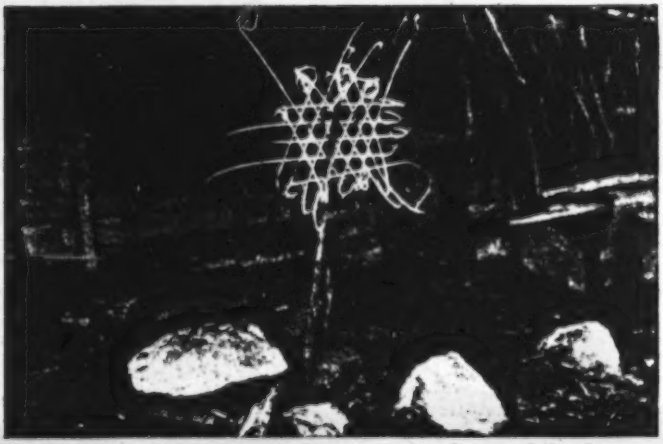

Ill. 97. Sacral sign, which, set up in front of the house door, announces the beginning of a holiday among the Meau.

787

Ill. 98. Meau questions the spirits with the help of a stick oracle.